

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BONN 13350 01 OF 03 181628Z

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ACDA-05 ISO-00 CU-02 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 DHA-02 ERDA-05 FEA-01

OES-03 COME-00 AID-05 EB-07 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 STR-04

OMB-01 CEA-01 /107 W

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R 181611Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2192

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

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PAGE 02 BONN 13350 01 OF 03 181628Z

AMEMBASSY MADRID

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 13350

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, GW

SUBJECT: FUTURE EASTERN POLICY

REFS: (A) BONN 12371; (B) BONN 12721; (C) BONN 12792;
(D) BONN 12801

1. SUMMARY: THE COINCIDENCE OF THE CSCE SUMMIT, THE EXTENSIVE ROUND OF BILATERAL TALKS BETWEEN EASTERN LEADERS AND SCHMIDT AT THE SUMMIT, THE FRG/POLISH AGREEMENTS AND THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MOSCOW TREATY HAS FOCUSED ATTENTION ON THE FRG'S RELATIONS WITH THE EAST. IT IS LIKELY THAT THE FRG'S EASTERN POLICY WILL CONTINUE TO BE A SUBJECT OF HIGH ATTENTION GIVEN THE UPCOMING BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON THE POLISH AGREEMENTS, PLANNED HIGH LEVEL VISITS AND THE QUESTION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE MEASURES.

HOWEVER, THE PARAMETERS SET BY ECONOMIC AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THIS THE YEAR OF PREPARATION FOR THE 1976 GENERAL ELECTION WILL PERMIT THE GOVERNMENT LITTLE FLEXIBILITY IN PURSUING A FAR REACHING EASTERN POLICY. ALSO, EASTERN INTEREST IN IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE FRG WILL BE RESTRAINED IF GERMAN MONEY IS NOT FORTHCOMING. GENERAL EAST-WEST RELATIONS WILL ALSO BE KEY IN SETTING THE TONE FOR FRG EASTERN POLICY. IN SHORT, WHILE THE FRG WILL REMAIN AN INTERESTED, WILLING AND ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN DETENTE, IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT GERMAN EASTERN POLICY WILL BE A DRIVING FORCE IN IMPROVED EAST-WEST RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE ECHOES OF THE CSCE SUMMIT REVERBERATED PERHAPS LOUDER IN THE FRG THAN IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY. THIS IS NATURAL GIVEN THE UNIQUE IMPORTANCE FOR GERMANY AS A WHOLE AND THE FRG IN PARTICULAR OF CSCE PROVISIONS ON CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BONN 13350 01 OF 03 181628Z

INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, PEACEFUL CHANGE, CBM'S AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS IN BASKET III. THE FRG WAS THE ONLY COUNTRY TO OUR KNOWLEDGE THAT HELD A FORMAL PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF SIGNING THE FINAL DOCUMENT.

3. IN THAT DEBATE THE COALITION GOVERNMENT STRUCK BOTH A DEFENSIVE AND OFFENSIVE STANCE ON THE IMPORTANCE

AND IMPLICATIONS OF CSCE - DEFENSIVE IN POINTING TO
DAMAGE - LIMITING ASPECTS (NOT A CONFERENCE OVER
GERMANY-- OFFENSIVE IN POINTING TO POSSIBLE BENEFITS.
SUCCESSFUL AND EARLY IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE
MEASURES WILL BE NEEDED IF THE GOVERNMENT IS TO
CONTINUE TO POINT TO THE POSITIVE RESULTS OF THE
CONFERENCE. BUT IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT IMPLEMENTATION
WILL BE EITHER SWIFT OR EXTENSIVE ENOUGH TO SATISFY
THE CDU/CSU OPPOSITION, WHICH CAN BE COUNTED ON TO
CONTINUE TO CARP ABOUT WHAT IT WILL PERCEIVE AS EASTERN
NON-COMPLIANCE WITH CSCE PROVISIONS, PARTICULARLY
BASKET III.

4. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE
GOVERNMENT IS DISSATISFIED WITH CSCE. ON THE CONTRARY,
IT BELIEVES THE CONFERENCE TURNED OUT BETTER THAN
COULD BE EXPECTED (BONN 12792). MAINTENANCE OF THE
CSCE OFFICE IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, AND MORE
IMPORTANTLY, THE DESIRABILITY OF POSITIVE RESULTS IN
BASKET III, POINT TOWARD THE FRG DOING WHAT IT CAN TO
EXTRACT THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE BENEFITS, BUT TRYING TO

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PAGE 01 BONN 13350 02 OF 03 181635Z

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R 181611Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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PAGE 02 BONN 13350 02 OF 03 181635Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 13350

SATISFY THE OPPOSITION ON THIS POINT IS LIKE TRYING TO
FILL A BOTTOMLESS WELL, AND IT IS LIKELY THIS AREA WILL
PROVIDE MORE CONTENTION THAN SATISFACTION.

5. THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE MOSCOW
TREATY PRODUCED EXCHANGES OF TELEGRAMS BETWEEN THE FRG
AND USSR LEADERSHIP AND INSTANT EVALUATIONS OF HOW THAT
TREATY HAS SERVED GERMAN INTERESTS. SCHMIDT, SCHEEL,
AND GENSCHER (THE FIRST TWO IN REPLY TO MESSAGES FROM
THEIR SOVIET COUNTERPARTS) PAID APPROPRIATE
TRIBUTE TO THE ROLE THE TREATY HAS PLAYED IN DETENTE
IN GENERAL AND IMPROVED FRG/USSR BILATERAL RELATIONS AS
WELL. BUT THEY DID NOT GO OVERBOARD IN THEIR PRAISE OF
THE TREATY, AS THE GERMAN PRESS WAS QUICK TO POINT
OUT. PRESS PLAY ON THE 14TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BERLIN
WALL ALSO TOOK SOME OF THE LUSTRE OFF THE OCCASION.

6. MORE CONCRETELY, THE MEETINGS WHICH SCHMIDT HELD AT
HELSINKI WITH BREZHNEV AND OTHER EASTERN LEADERS DID NOT
AUGUR WELL FOR AN ACCELERATED EASTERN POLICY (BONN

12801) .WHILE THEIR TONE WAS POSITIVE, LITTLE OR NO
MOVEMENT WAS MADE ON SUCH SPECIFIC ISSUES AS THE
KALININGRAD NUCLEAR POWER PLANT, BERLIN, BERLIN CLAUSE
IN VARIOUS BILATERAL AGREEMENTS, EMIGRATION OF ETHNIC
GERMANS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, OR BALANCING TRADE.

7. THE ONE EXCEPTION - THE SCHMIDT/GIEREK AGREEMENTS -
IS LIKELY TO PRODUCE AN ACRIMONIOUS RATIFICATION
DEBATE (BONN 12371). HERE THE OPPOSITION HAS ALREADY
STAKED OUT ITS GROUND, USING FLASH WORDS SUCH AS
BLACKMAIL TO DEMONSTRATE ITS ANTIPATHY TO AGREEMENTS
WITH THE EAST WHICH ARE MADE AT A SUBSTANTIAL COST.

8. THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION TO BE
OVERLY GENEROUS IN ITS DEALING WITH THE EAST GIVEN THE
TIGHT ECONOMIC SITUATION AND THE FACT THAT EASTERN
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PAGE 03 BONN 13350 02 OF 03 181635Z

POLICY IS AT A STAGE WHERE MANY POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS
WILL NEED MONEY TO GREASE THE WHEELS OF ACCORD. THE
GENERAL ELECTIONS COMING UP NEXT YEAR WILL GIVE THE
GOVERNMENT PAUSE BEFORE IT MAKES ITSELF LIABLE TO
CHARGES THAT IT IS SACRIFICING DOMESTIC PROGRAMS FOR
THE SAKE OF AGREEMENTS WITH THE EAST.

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PAGE 01 BONN 13350 03 OF 03 181639Z

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PAGE 02 BONN 13350 03 OF 03 181639Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 13350

9. BUT EASTERN POLICY IS NOT DEAD. SUBSTANTIAL FRG
INTEREST IN IMPROVED RELATIONS, TALKS WITH THE GDR ON
THE TELTOW CANAL AND TRANSIT MATTERS, SCHEEL'S VISIT TO
THE USSR IN NOVEMBER, EASTERN VISITS TO THE FRG
(ZHIVKOV IN NOVEMBER, GIEREK NEXT SPRING,
POSSIBLY KADAR) AND CSCE IMPLEMENTATION WILL KEEP THE
EASTERN POT ON THE STOVE, IF NOT ON THE FRONT BURNER.
ONGOING EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS, MOST NOTABLY MBFR, WILL
KEEP THE FRG ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN MULTILATERAL DETENTE.
AND THE POSSIBILITY THAT ONE OR BOTH OF THE
COALITION PARTNERS WILL DECIDE THAT THERE IS DOMESTIC
POLITICAL MILEAGE FROM ONE OR MORE SPECIFIC

AGREEMENTS WITH THE EAST, AS WELL AS THE
POSSIBILITY, THAT THE SOVIET OR OTHER EASTERN LEADERSHIP
WILL WANT TO SHOW MOVEMENT, CANNOT BE DISMISSED.

10. FURTHERMORE, THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS
FOR RESOLUTION OF THE BERLIN CLAUSE PROBLEM IN AGREE-
MENTS UNDER NEGOTIATION WITH THE USSR (SCIENTIFIC
TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION, CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND
JUDICIAL ASSISTANCE). A MEETING GENSCHER HAS SCHEDULED
WITH GROMYKO DURING THE UNGA WILL PROBABLY CENTER ON
THIS POINT. ADDITIONALLY, THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE
GDR OVER IMPROVING THE TRANSIT ROUTES TO BERLIN
MAY PROVE TO BE AN EXCEPTION TO THE GENERAL
RULE OF TIGHT MONEY MAKING AGREEMENTS WITH THE EAST
DIFFICULT, PARTICULARLY IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO INCLUDE
FRG PARTICIPATION IN THE WORK IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE
MONEY SPENT COULD ALSO BE USED TO STIMULATE THE
ECONOMY. AND THE GOVERNMENT WILL REMAIN SENSITIVE TO
THE POSSIBLE CHARGE IN AN ELECTION YEAR THAT IT IS NOT
DOING ENOUGH FOR BERLIN.
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